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C O N F I D E N T I A L USNATO 4932

GENEVA FOR CSCE DEL

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, PARM

SUBJ: CSCE: CONFIDENCE BUILDING MEASURES

REF: USNATO 4900

FOLLOWING IS TEXT OF ORAL REPORT ON CBMS WHICH POLADS CHAIRMAN
WILL GIVE TO NAC SEPTEMBER 13, 1974.
BEGIN TEXT.

AS YOU WILL RECALL, THE COUNCIL DECIDED AT ITS MEETING
OF 19TH JULY, 1974, THAT WHEREAS FURTHER HARMONISATION
OF ALLIED POLICIES WITH REGARD TO ALL OTHER ASPECTS OF THE CSCE
CONFERENCE WOULD CONTINUE IN THE NATO CAUCUS IN GENEVA WITH THE
COUNCIL REVIEWING THE SITUATION FROM TIME TO TIME, FURTHER
STUDIES ON CONFIDENCE-BUILDING MEASURES SHOULD BE CARRIED
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OUT IN BRUSSELS. THE POLITICAL COMMITTEE WAS CONSEQUENTLY
INSTRUCTED TO PURSUE CONSIDERATION OF CONFIDENCE-BUILDING
MEASURES AND TO REPORT BACK TO THE COUNCIL. IN COMPLIANCE WITH
THIS INSTRUCTION, THE POLITICAL COMMITTEE, IN A SERIES OF

RECENT MEETINGS, HAS EXAMINED THE VARIOUS CBM ISSUES WHICH STILL REQUIRE FURTHER HARMONISATION WITHIN THE ALLIANCE. THE SERIES CONCLUDED WITH A MEETING ON 5TH SEPTEMBER, 1974 IN WHICH CSCE EXPERTS FROM CAPITALS AND FROM GENEVA PARTICIPATED AS THE COUNCIL HAD REQUESTED.

THE MAJORITY OF THE COMMITTEE BELIEVES THAT, GIVEN THE PRESENT STATE OF THE NEGOTIATIONS IN GENEVA, IT WOULD BE PREMATURE TO TRY TO ACHIEVE TOO HIGH A DEGREE OF PRECISION IN THE HARMONISATION OF POSITIONS, SINCE THIS MIGHT UNDULY LIMIT THE FREEDOM OF NEGOTIATORS IN GENEVA TO WORK FOR SATISFACTORY AGREEMENTS ON CBMS DURING THE CONFERENCE. THERE WAS ALSO A MAJORITY OPINION THAT, IN VIEW OF THE DELICACY OF THESE NEGOTIATIONS, NO EXACT FIGURES OR CONCLUSIONS SHOULD BE COMMITTED TO WRITING. IT WAS THEREFORE HELD THAT THE ACTING CHAIRMAN SHOULD ORALLY REPORT TO THE COUNCIL ON THE CONCLUSIONS REACHED IN THE COMMITTEE; THESE CONCLUSIONS ARE SET FORTH FOR INTERNAL USE, WITH THE CONCURRENCE OF THE COMMITTEE, IN DOCUMENT C-M-(74)57 WHICH IS BEFORE YOU. AS THE COUNCIL WILL HAVE NOTED, THIS DOCUMENT STILL CONTAINS BRACKETED LANGUAGE WITH REGARD TO SOME ITEMS, SIGNALLING THAT COMPLETE AGREEMENT ON THESE ITEMS HAS AS YET NOT BEEN REACHED. THIS FACT SHOULD NOT BE DRAMATISED, HOWEVER, BUT SHOULD RATHER BE SEEN IN THE CONTEXT OF THE HISTORY OF NEGOTIATIONS IN THE GENEVA WORKING GROUP. IT WILL BE RECALLED THAT IT TOOK ALMOST A YEAR TO BRING THE SOVIETS AND THEIR ALLIES TO THE POINT OF STARTING DISCUSSIONS ON CBMS, THUS AMPLY DEMONSTRATING THE DIFFICULTIES THE ALLIES FACE IN MOVING THE OTHER SIDE TO MEANINGFUL NEGOTIATIONS AT ALL. DURING ALL THIS TIME, CO-OPERATION AT THE NATO CAUCUS IN GENEVA HAS BEEN EXCELLENT AND IT IS LARGELY DUE TO THIS COHESION THAT PRELIMINARY AGREEMENT WAS REACHED, SHORTLY BEFORE THE SUMMER RECESS, ON A TEXT COVERING THE EXCHANGES OF OBSERVERS. THE COMMITTEE IS CONFIDENT THAT THIS CLOSE COOPERATION CAN CONTINUE, AND THAT THE COORDINATION EFFORT WHICH IS TO BE PURSUED BOTH IN BRUSSELS AND IN GENEVA WILL PRODUCE HARMONISED ALLIED POSITIONS ON ALL ASPECTS OF CBMS AS THE NEGOTIATIONS PROCEED.

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TURNING NOW TO THE DOCUMENT, I MAY CALL YOUR ATTENTION TO PARAGRAPHS 3, 4 AND 5 ON GENERAL CONSIDERATIONS, WHICH FOUND UNANIMOUS APPROVAL. WITH REGARD TO THE SPECIFIC OBJECTIVES IN PARAGRAPH 6, IT WAS AGREED THAT THE AREA OF APPLICATION OF PRIOR NOTIFICATION OF MAJOR MILITARY MANOEUVERS SHOULD, AS A MATTER PRINCIPLE, COVER THE WHOLE OF EUROPE. HOWEVER, THE NEED FOR EXCEPTIONS TO THIS PRINCIPLE WAS RECOGNISED BY THE COMMITTEE IN ORDER TO MEET THE SOVIET OPPOSITION AND TO TAKE CARE OF THE SPECIAL POSITION OF ONE OF THE NATO FLANK COUNTRIES. WITH REGARD TO THE AREA OF THE USSR TO BE COVERED, THE COMMITTEE CONFIRMED ITS DECISION OF 5TH JUNE THAT THE ALLIES COULD EVENTUALLY MAKE KNOWN TO THE OTHER SIDE A FALL-BACK POSITION. ONE DELEGATION ALSO SUGGESTED THAT THE MEDITERRANEAN SEA

SHOULD BE EXPLICITLY EXEMPTED FROM THE AREA OF NOTIFICATION. THE COMMITTEE'S DECISION OF JUNE 5TH WITH REGARD TO ANNOUNCEMENT TIME AND TO THE SIZE OF MANOEUVERS TO BE SUBJECT TO PRIOR NOTIFICATION WAS ALSO CONFIRMED. IT WAS SUGGESTED THAT, IN ESTABLISHING THE THRESHOLD FOR NOTIFICATION IT SHOULD BE BORNE IN MIND THAT THE THRESHOLD SHOULD ENSURE A SUFFICIENT NUMBER OF NOTIFICATIONS IN ORDER TO CONTRIBUTE TO CONFIDENCE-BUILDING.

A DIVERGENCY REMAINED, HOWEVER, CONCERNING THE INCLUSION OF AIR AND NAVAL AS WELL AS SMALLER SCALE MANOEUVERS. WHEREAS A MAJORITY WAS PREPARED TO ACCEPT A CLAUSE RECOGNISING THAT PRIOR NOTIFICATION OF AIR AND NAVAL MANOEUVERS WOULD CONTRIBUTE TO CONFIDENCE-BUILDING SOME DELEGATIONS OBJECTED TO SUCH A CLAUSE. WITH REGARD TO SMALLER-SCALE MANOEUVERS, SOME DELEGATIONS INSISTED ON THEIR PRIOR NOTIFICATION, THE MAJORITY BEING PREPARED TO ACCEPT SUCH A MEASURE. ONE DELEGATION, HOWEVER, EXPRESSED STRONG OPPOSITION.

ON THE ISSUE OF PRIOR NOTIFICATION OF MAJOR MILITARY MOVEMENTS, A MAJORITY REITERATED THEIR SUPPORT FOR SUCH A MEASURE. IN VIEW OF THE CONTINUING OPPOSITION OF ONE DELEGATION, THE MAJORITY SUGGESTED THAT IT SIMPLY BE RECOGNISED IN THE DOCUMENT THAT SUCH A MEASURE WOULD CONTRIBUTE TO CONFIDENCE-BUILDING, LEAVING NOTIFICATION TO THE DISCRETION OF THE PARTICIPATING STATES. THIS FORMULA ALSO FAILED TO ACHIEVE UNANIMITY. MOST OF THE DELEGATIONS REMAINED CONVINCED THAT CONFIDENTIAL

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ALLIED NEGOTIATORS SHOULD CONTINUE TO PRESS THE EAST FOR AN ACCEPTANCE OF PRIOR NOTIFICATION OF SUCH MOVEMENTS, IF ONLY TO OBTAIN FROM THE EAST SATISFACTION ON OTHER CBMS IN RETURN FOR THE RELINQUISHING OF THIS CLAIM. THE DISSENTING DELEGATION EXPRESSED ITS WILLINGNESS TO CONTINUE TO ACQUIESCE IN SUCH A TACTICAL MOVE IN GENEVA WITHOUT SUPPORTING IT.

IN SUMMARIZING IT CAN BE SAID THAT THE DISCUSSION CONDUCTED WITHIN THE POLITICAL COMMITTEE MARKED DEFINITE PROGRESS TOWARDS REAL HARMONISATION OF ALLIED POSITIONS WHICH CAN NOW BE CONSIDERED TO BE MUCH CLOSER TOGETHER THAN ONLY A FEW MONTHS AGO.

THE COMMITTEE SUGGESTS THAT THE COUNCIL TAKE NOTE OF THIS REPORT.

END TEXT. RUMSFELD

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<< END OF DOCUMENT >>

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